

NSC BRIEFING

16 September 1959

IRANIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

- I. Iranian-Soviet relations, which have been in a constant state of tension since talks on a non-aggression treaty broke down last February, may now be entering a new phase.
- A. Soviet Ambassador Pegov, who left Iran last March, ~~was~~ ^{arrived} ~~scheduled to return~~ yesterday.
- B. In speaking of Pegov's return, the Soviet First Secretary in Tehran told one of our embassy officials that "the Americans have a great surprise in store for them."
- C. Iranian Ambassador to Moscow Masud-Ansari has also returned for consultations.
- D. Preliminary discussions may soon get under way aimed at clarifying outstanding differences.
- II. Tehran recently has shown signs of weakening under Soviet pressure and has indicated a willingness to make the first move toward reaching a rapprochement with Moscow by unofficially suggesting a revision and confirmation of the 1927 Treaty of Guarantee and Neutrality.

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State Dept. review completed

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- B. The Shah, in his recurrent state of frustration regarding Iran's economic, military, and political development may feel he can buy time by reaching a rapprochement with the USSR.
- C. ~~And~~ Nehru, who begins a state visit to Iran ^{tomorrow} ~~this Friday~~, may ~~help this feeling along,~~ *can be expected.*

~~I.~~ In any discussion of CENTO and Soviet-Iranian relations with the Shah, ~~Nehru can be expected to express his~~ longstanding view that neutralism and independent action are preferable to taking sides and forming military alliances.

III. For his part, Khrushchev, by threat and enticement, has been trying to move Iran toward neutralism and the eventual negotiation of some type of non-aggression arrangement.

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C. Meanwhile, during the past week Radio Moscow has taken a milder tone in its propaganda toward Iran although the Soviet sponsored clandestine station continues its sharp attacks against the Shah.

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IV. Inside Iran, the domestic situation remains unchanged.

There are still no signs of an imminent ^{internal} move against the Shah but trouble could develop with little or no warning.

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TREATY OF GUARANTEE AND NEUTRALITY:
PERSIA AND THE USSR
1 October 1927

*file with
NSC paper
Iranian
relations*

Art. 1. The mutual relations between Persia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall continue to be governed by the Treaty of February 26, 1921, of which all the articles and provisions shall remain in force, and which shall be applicable throughout the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 3. Each of the Contracting Parties agrees to take no part, whether de facto or de jure, in political alliances or agreements directed against the safety of the territory or territorial waters of the other Contracting Party or against its integrity, independence or sovereignty.

Each of the Contracting Parties likewise agrees to take no part in any economic boycotts or blockades organized by third Powers against one of the Contracting Parties.

PERSIA--R.S.F.S.R.

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP

S--Moscow, February 26, 1921; R--Teheran, February 26, 1922

V. The High Contracting Parties undertake:

1. To prevent the formation or residence in their respective territories of organizations or groups, of whatever name, or of individual persons, whose intention may be to fight against Persia or Russia, or against the countries federated with the latter, and also to prevent the enlistment of men for the army or the mobilization of soldiers for any detachments or for the armed forces of the said organizations.

2. Neither of the High Contracting Parties shall allow any country or organization, whatever its name, which has the intention to fight against the other, to import into, or transport through, its territory anything that may be used against the other.

3. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall use every available means to prevent the sojourn in its territory, or the territory of its federated countries, of an army or the armed force of a third country, if the sojourn of such forces may threaten the frontier, or the interests of or the order in the country of the other.

VI. The High Contracting Parties agree that in case any third countries intend to pursue a policy of transgression in Persian territory or to make Persian territory a base for military attacks against Russia, and if thereby a danger threatens the frontier of Soviet Russia, or its federated associates, and if the Persian Government, after having been notified by the Soviet Government, is not able to remove this danger itself, the Soviet Government shall have the right to send its army into Persia in order to take the necessary military steps in its own defense. The Soviet Government undertakes to withdraw its army from Persia as soon as such danger is removed.

Teheran, December 12, 1921

(II) Your Excellency,

In reply to your letter dated the 20th day of Ghows, I have the honor to inform you that Articles V and VI are intended to apply only to cases in which preparations have been made for a considerable armed attack upon Russia or the Soviet Republics allied to her by the partisans of the regime which has been overthrown or by its supporters among those foreign powers which are in a position to assist the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics and at the same time to possess themselves, by force or by underhand methods, of part of the Persian territory, thereby establishing a base of operations for any attacks--make either directly or through the counter-revolutionary forces--which they might meditate against Russia or the Soviet Republics allied to her. The Articles referred to are therefore in no sense intended to apply to verbal or written attacks directed against the Soviet Government by the various Persian groups, or even by any Russian emigrés in Persia, in so far as such attacks are generally tolerated as between neighboring powers animated by sentiments of mutual friendship.

With regard to Articles XIII and XX, and the small error to which you draw attention in Article II with reference to the Convention of 1881, I am in a position to state categorically, as I have always stated, that my Government, whose attitude towards the Persian nation is entirely friendly, has never sought to place any restriction upon the progress and prosperity of Persia. I myself fully share this attitude, and would be prepared, should friendly relations be maintained between the two countries, to promote negotiations with a view to a total or partial revision of these Articles on the lines desired by the Persian Government, as far as the interests of Russia permit.

In view of the preceding statements, I trust that, as you promised me in your letter, you Government and the Mejlis will ratify the Treaty in question as soon as possible.

I have...

Rotstein,
Diplomatic Representative of R.S.F.S.R.

Persian Minister for
Foreign Affairs